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ABSTRACT

Titus Brandsma, a Dutch Carmelite priest, philosopher, educator, and active journalist, was killed by the Nazis in Dachau on July 26, 1942. Beatified by the Catholic Church in 1985, he was hailed as a potential second patron saint for journalists and unofficially adopted as such by some organized groups. The incident that precipitated his arrest and death was his organized opposition to a Nazi order explicitly forbidding appeal to principles as a reason to reject their advertising. His story is especially relevant for the North American context of today, where the social responsibility theory of the press postulates a secular press serving a pluralistic society. Within that context the "right of access" to the editorial and advertising columns is a controversial issue. The story of Brandsma's life and his final refusal to accept reasoning that explicitly forbade appeal to principles demonstrate the seriousness of principled journalism and publishing. The principle that the Nazis rejected and Brandsma was ready to die for was the principle of a free press--not just a Catholic press, but any press based on principles that go beyond commercial considerations. Thus he emerges as an enduring symbol of freedom of the press, one whose life and death transcend his own time and situation. (Seventy-four notes are included.) (MS)

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Titus Brandsma 1881 - 1942:
An Enduring Symbol for Freedom of the Press

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I also owe a major debt to the scholarly work of Prof. Dr. Joan Hemels, University of Amsterdam, a debt that goes beyond the footnote references that testify to the extent of my reliance on his work. For all practical purposes, my work is a translation of his, though I have added background essential for a North American understanding of the Dutch media scene before and during the Second World War. With respect to the latter, I am most indebted to the doctoral dissertation of Rene Vos.

To Brother Anthony, of Sarnia, whose translation of the Brandsma biography (not published), I owe a special thanks. His personal interest in this project was encouraging.

Last and foremost, I thank my brother, Martin, who accompanied me on the journey to Dachau and Boxmeer.

Henry Overduin

Titus Brandsma 1881 - 1942:
An Enduring Symbol for Freedom of the Press

Titus Brandsma, a Dutch Carmelite priest, philosopher and journalist, was killed by the Nazis in Dachau on July 26, 1942. Beatified in 1985, he was hailed as a potential second patron saint for journalists[1] and unofficially adopted as such by some organized groups.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to introduce Brandsma to a wider North American audience, especially journalists and journalism educators.[3] In addition to the intrinsic historical interest of his story, there is something special about this Carmelite friar which transcends his particular contributions to Dutch-Catholic journalism. In the beatification process, the defender of the faith or devil's advocate argued that Brandsma was just another resistance hero, not a saint or martyr. I hope that by the end of this paper I will have succeeded in convincing even those journalists who tend to the devil's view of things -- an occupational hazard -- that Titus Brandsma was more than just a hero in the Dutch resistance. He was more because through his death in Dachau he became a symbol for freedom of the press.

He became such a symbol by insisting on the right to say "No!" The incident that precipitated his arrest on January 19, 1942 and eventual death in Dachau six months later was his organized opposition to a Nazi order explicitly forbidding appeal to principles as a reason to reject their advertising. His story is especially relevant for the North American context of today, where the social responsibility theory of the press postulates a secular press serving a pluralistic

society. Within that context the "right of access" to the editorial and advertising columns is a controversial issue.[4] The story of Titus Brandsma's life and his final refusal to accept reasoning that explicitly forbade appeal to principles demonstrate the seriousness of principled journalism and publishing. The principle that the Nazis rejected and Brandsma was ready to die for was the principle of a free press -- not just a Catholic press, but any press based on principles that go beyond commercial considerations. Thus he emerges as an enduring symbol of freedom of the press, one whose life and death transcend his own time and situation.

Birth and education

Anno Sjoerd Brandsma -- he took on the name Titus when he became a Carmelite -- was born on February 23, 1881, the fifth of six children, on a farm near the town of Bolsward, in Frisia, a northern Dutch province known for its prosperous farms and Holstein-Frisian cattle. His parents were devout Catholics, a minority religion in Protestant Frisia. His first language was Frisian, which was spoken at home, and his second was Dutch. His biographers report that his homelife, sheltered and steeped in Catholic traditions, was happy. His father loved to play the piano and taught his children dancing. The young Anno was a bright student, often first in his class. He was small in stature, and his school buddies called him "Shorty." Throughout his life, his health caused problems, requiring special diets and medical attention. On several occasions during his life, he became seriously ill to the point where there was fear of his death. Yet, Titus resented getting special treatment and often ignored advice to restrict his activities. Only once -- less than two months before his death -- did he cite his poor health as a reason for getting out of something that faced him. Interned in a staging prison at Kleve, Germany, on his way to Dachau, he complied with a

suggestion from the prison chaplain and petitioned the German authorities for clemency. Detailing his health problems one by one, he asked for solitary confinement in a German monastery instead of Dachau. His plea was turned down.[5]

From an early age, Titus felt called to the priesthood. In his family, he was not alone in seeking out a religious life, for three of his sisters and his brother, Henry, also joined religious orders.[6] Given this desire for the priesthood, Titus left home at the age of 11 to go to what was then called "the Latin School" of the Franciscans in the town of Megen, a day's journey away from his home. There he received his secondary education and pre-seminary training and pondered the vocational form his calling to the priesthood would take. While he considered various orders, such as the Franciscans and Jesuits, his eventual choice was the Order of Carmel.[7]

Titus completed his training for the priesthood without incident and was ordained in 1905. Anticipated doctoral studies in Rome were delayed because of a disagreement on philosophical matters. Some of his professors thought him too radical.[8] Once the dispute was resolved with the help of some friends in high places in the Order, Titus did go to Rome and graduated with a doctorate in philosophy in 1909. For the rest of his life he would be a teacher of philosophy; from 1909 - 1923, in the school of the Carmelites at Oss, another small town, and then, from 1923 to 1942, at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, which he joined as one of the founding faculty.

An unusual professor

Titus Brandsma was a workaholic.[9] As a Carmelite, he was called to a contemplative life **and** a life of service, and his commitment to the latter made it next to impossible for him to say no when he was asked to help out, to lend a

hand, to lead a cause.[10] As a result of these external activities, his scholarly work in philosophy is limited,[11] some might say non-existent.[12] When fellow academics complained that Titus was not producing as expected, he replied: "Why then do they always ask me to do this or that?"[13] And the "they" included his fellow university professors and administrators. Brandsma's zeal for his university, his church, his order, the cause of Christian unity, and his pastoral interest in people as individuals may well have caused his lectures to suffer. Students who attended his classes report that his lectures on philosophy tended to be on the dull side.[14] But his weakness on the podium was more than compensated for by his personal efforts for his students as individuals. His professorial interest went beyond academic matters to include their personal concerns. He dealt with all manner of personal problems, from financing to employment, and often pleaded their cases personally because he found phone calls too impersonal. Students affectionately referred to him as "our little prof."[15]

His main academic love and enthusiasm was reserved for the study of Dutch mysticism, particularly the medieval mystics of the *Devotio Moderna*, a popularly-based revival of Catholic piety in the 14th and 15th centuries, centred in The Netherlands and Germany.[16] He characterized that movement's founder Geert Groote in words that, in retrospect, could well be applied to himself: "He was radical enough to stand as a contradiction to the world, strong enough to endure its derision and condemnation, reverent enough to do so in the true spirit of unity with God."[17] His enthusiasm for the Dutch mystics was such that he initiated searches for documents all over Europe and had them photographed. Eventually this collection consisted of several hundred volumes of photographed manuscript pages. Much original material was unearthed in this way and inspired lectures, public speeches and popular articles.[18]

Journalistic activities

It is only against this academic background and in the context of his philosophical and mystical preoccupations that Brandsma's journalistic activities can be seen as more than just a pastoral exploitation of mass media to promote confessional or institutional ends. That they did almost invariably promote such ends can hardly be denied. But what inspired them was Brandsma's lively news sense. He saw timely and relevant information in medieval documents.[19] Philosophy, mysticism and journalism were all of a piece with him:

> What I therefore defend and consider as necessary for these times, is the contemplation of *all that there is* in its dependence and origin from God. Therein -- and first of all in ourselves -- we must see his work, distinguish his being, recognize and adore him. God is there and He reveals Himself to us there....
>
> We must see God first of all as the deepest ground of our being, hidden in our inmost nature, yet able to be seen and contemplated there; *knowable at first by reasoning*, then by regularly focusing on him without each time applying our reason and as it were by intuition, so that we find ourselves continually contemplating God and adoring him not only in our own being but in all that is -- first of all in our fellowman, then in nature, in the universe, present everywhere and penetrating everything with the work of his hands.[20]

The above quotation reveals Brandsma's curiosity for all that exists, the motivation for his journalism; his belief in reason as a means to knowledge and understanding, the ground of his philosophy; and his conviction that God can be discerned in all that there is, the source of his mysticism. And so, when some of his more ambitious plans for scholarly publishing failed, the spin-off of his academic researches found its way to more modest publications.[21] Philosophy's loss became the public's gain.

Brandsma's publishing career began with a stencilled student publication during his pre-seminary days, which was followed by a properly-printed journal for fellow Carmelites while in seminary, and his first book -- an anthology of writings from St. Teresa translated from the French -- published in 1901, when he was 20 years old. While waiting to go to Rome, Brandsma contributed the first of many articles to a Catholic weekly journal, an activity he continued while in Rome, where he had direct access to some of the leading Catholic intellectuals of the day.[22] He made plans for a Catholic national daily newspaper, and when, quite independently, one was published, he became a regular contributor.[23] His journalistic activities were noted, and he was asked to serve as the Rome correspondent for *Het Centrum*, an important Catholic daily published in Utrecht. He did not accept this job offer.

These early free-lance efforts came to an end in 1910 when Titus took up his teaching post in Oss, and other activities occupied his time. But in 1919, Titus took over as editor-in-chief of *De Stad Oss*, a weekly community newspaper described by Aukes as "editorially and typographically a rag, which often appeared as just one sheet printed on both sides and sometimes did not appear at all."[24] Some of the Carmelites in Oss had already contributed articles in an effort to revive the deteriorating publication, but by 1919 the situation had become so deplorable that there was talk of another paper.[25] An agreement reached between the publisher and the Carmelites put Brandsma in charge of the paper in return for an annual fee to the Order of 600 guilders, "a tip," according to Meijer.[26]

Under Brandsma's direction, the paper rapidly improved. It appeared regularly twice a week; was cleanly laid out, with eight pages on Saturdays; and featured regular news reports, including Brandsma's leading articles.[27] Soon circulation increased to 1,300. Brandsma directed the paper in all its facets, from

organizing regional news coverage to delivery routes. He remained as editor-in-chief until his appointment as professor in Nijmegen. Other Carmelites edited the paper until July, 1940, when it was shut down.[28] During this time Brandsma also resumed his contributions to other Catholic dailies and continued to do so for the rest of his life. As a result, he became well-known to Dutch Catholic newspapermen. Their professional organization, the Nederlandsche Roomsch Katholieke Journalisten Vereeniging (NRKJV), listed Brandsma as one of 12 candidates for spiritual advisor as early as 1921.[29] At that time the archbishop appointed another man to the job, Bonaventura Kruitwagen. Kruitwagen resigned in 1935 and Brandsma was appointed to fill his place.

Brandsma as spiritual advisor

In The Netherlands during the 1930s, there were an estimated 1,500 full-time journalists[30] working for a total of 120 daily newspapers.[31] Forty-two, or one-third of those newspapers were confessional, Catholic newspapers. The national association to which Brandsma had been appointed was one of two national organizations for journalists, the other being the Nederlandsche Journalisten Kring (NJK).[32] The organization of journalists working for the Catholic newspapers (NRKJV) had slightly over 200 members; the NJK whose member journalists worked primarily for neutral, or small 'l' liberal newspapers, 700 members.[33] While neither of these journalistic organizations were labor unions, they sought to improve the working conditions of journalists. The question to become a regular labor union was an issue of ongoing debate in both groups.[34]

Hemels has documented the "impressive manner"[35] in which Brandsma interpreted his mandate as spiritual advisor. He could have restricted himself to a passive role, merely making sure that the NRKJV would not transgress

ecclesiastical decrees. He could also have satisfied himself with a more pastoral role, taking a priestly view of the "spiritual" in his title. He did all that and more.[36] To appreciate the extent of his involvement, it should be remembered that Dutch journalists during the Depression years were worried about several new developments and conditions in their industry. While the Depression as such had not had a major negative impact on the newspaper industry[37], there was much uncertainty about the future, especially about ownership concentration and salary levels. The inauguration, in 1935, of a national news service, which distributed the news via telex, was another cause of anxiety; as were the emergence of radio and the popular newsreels in the theatres, not to mention the early experiments in television. If, added to these uncertainties, the fiercely competitive nature of the Dutch newspaper industry is taken into account,[38] a picture emerges of an uneasy profession in a belt-tightening industry.

Brandsma immersed himself in that industry and profession. Hemels notes how quickly Brandsma distanced himself from the official view in finding good things to say about the secular press. In a nationally-broadcast lecture on Sept. 22, 1936, Brandsma urged Catholic publishers to equal the secular press in its general and special news reporting, including sports and finance, so that their subscribers would not be shortchanged.[39] While he also praised the Catholic press and remarked on its value for supplying the Catholic community with its own news and information, he was critical of the poor quality of some of those Catholic publications. He encouraged publishers to improve the editorial quality of their papers and animated the faithful to subscribe.

In a second nationally-broadcast lecture, on Feb. 5, 1939, Brandsma discusses "The Task and Place of the Catholic Press" in more detail. He characterizes a newspaper thus: "A newspaper is like a friend, whose judgment

one values, to whom one gladly listens, whose suggestions one cannot avoid."[40]

Brandsma explained the justification for such a press in the following words:

> In the end, the deepest ground for our appreciation of our own press is the glorious characteristic of human nature that she seeks and loves the truth and that is why we are ready to give up much, very much, to be informed by our own press.
>
> Our own press is for us, as the Pope so pithily put it recently, an *arma veritatis*, the strong weapon in our battle for the truth.
>
> As soon as that ideal ceases to inspire our press, she will have lost her worth for us, for the Church. Her strength and her glory lie solely in her unique position as a witness to truth....
>
> That does not mean that our press, our Catholic press, is primarily called to confession of faith and glorification of God and that no other goal may be pursued; no, we must see the task of the press more comprehensively; her activity extends further, much further.[41]

Just how much further the Catholic press should go is made clear in the remainder of his talk. The Catholic press should, within reason, give all the news that the non-Catholic papers do, and do it better. If they do not, so he argues, the Catholic newspaper becomes a pauper, which takes more than it gives. Such Catholic papers did exist, Brandsma observed, and were of the sort to inspire only pity.

Within the NRKJV, Brandsma accepted leadership roles by heading committees on (1) the legal status of Catholic journalists in the workplace, (2) journalism education, and (3) new forms of journalism brought about by modern technology and methods of mass communication. The report on new forms of journalism, dated March 24, 1937, compares the news functions of radio, magazine, film and television ("newsreels in the living room") and related them to the traditional role of the newspaper. The newspaper, so the report argued, would continue to have a place, though less of a recreational role, in the future. The

various media have complementary roles to fill, each according to its technological advantage, with the newspaper serving a supplementary role in the provision of more detailed news, background and analysis. Hemels notes that this report appears to be the first to view the different media as journalistically complementary, rather than competitively exclusive, news channels.[42]

Brandsma also headed the committee charged to find ways to improve the legal status of journalists in the workplace. Its report, of May 6, 1939, proposed collective agreements, including closed shop provisions, with individual Catholic newspapers as the way to this end.[43] Even more telling is Brandsma's position paper, dated Easter, 1940, on the legal position of journalists. More specific than the original report, Brandsma advocated that the training and preparation of journalists working for the Catholic press should be at least as thorough and complete as that given journalists in secular dailies. More generally, he argued that "The Christian organization of a daily newspaper demands that Roman Catholic journalists, in accordance with the significance of their part in its realization, be given a position which corresponds to that significance and which, in addition, is in harmony with the unique position the Catholic press itself occupies."[44]

This same appreciation for the importance of the journalists in the maintenance of a Catholic press permeates the specific proposals for post-secondary education advanced by the Brandsma committee and his paper on that topic.[45] Considered in the context of prevailing opinions on journalism education, Brandsma's proposals represent a *via media* on all fronts. Granting that journalism requires aptitude, he argued that those with aptitude would agree that training might have saved them much trouble just the same. Journalism education is necessary, so Brandsma held, because the journalist "...should not have to rely on the intuition of the moment to get the right view of things, the essentials,

the direction of his point of view, but should through training from those with more experience proceed almost automatically in the right direction....it makes all the difference in one's work if one comes to it with a knowledgeable outlook, a trained eye."[46]

He sketched a middle road between the theoretical approach of the Germans and the practical orientation of the Americans. Brandsma recommended a combination of theoretical and practical subjects; the theoretical subjects to be taught by academics, the practical by the best practitioners in the field, non-Catholics as well as Catholics. While neither a full-fledged university program nor an elaborate vocational training,[47] Brandsma's two-year program for journalists had the merit of being financially feasible at the time.[48] The theoretical subjects, which Brandsma considered to be of special importance in shaping a journalist's point of view, consisted of theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, literature, economics and politics. He recommended one hour per week class time in each of those subjects for the duration of the course. Practical studies would cover the chief editorial news categories, including national politics, international politics, religion, finance, sports, literature, theatre and arts, as well as editing skills. For training in these areas he envisioned two-months immersion in each, with lectures, workshops, readings and exercises under the direction of the expert practitioner.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought all these initiatives to a standstill. As a result of these activities, however, Brandsma had become a nationally-known figure in the Catholic press system, respected by working journalists and their directors alike.[49] That put him in a pivotal position in the hierarchy's resistance to the Nazi program of 'rectification' (*Gleichschaltung*) for the Dutch press after May 15, 1940, when the Dutch surrendered to the Germans.

The war years

At first, the Germans treated the Dutch and their press organizations gently, asking primarily for "loyality," which meant conforming to the prohibitions of military censorship and avoiding overt criticism and attacks on the occupying power.[50] The military co-opted some liberated German embassy staff to implement its press policies. One of those was a former journalist and long-time resident of The Netherlands, a 38-year-old man named Willi Paul Walter Janke, who became one of the main spokespersons for the occupying power. Austrian-born, Janke had married a Dutch woman and spoke fluent Dutch. He was well known among Dutch journalists, several of whom knew him as a friend. Janke had joined the Nazis to keep his job as a German journalist, not because of conviction. His loyalties were to Germany, as Vos reports,[51] and as an embassy press attaché that meant the foreign ministry headed by von Ribbentrop, not the propaganda ministry, which was headed by Goebbels. Hitler's Military Governor Arthur Seys-Inquart, another Austrian, appointed his fellow-Austrian Janke as director of his own press department, thereby bypassing both the foreign and cultural ministries which also claimed jurisdiction in press matters in occupied territories. Janke's dealings with the Dutch press were characterized by a measure of reasonableness born of his intimate knowledge of The Netherlands and its journalists. But it was Janke who, in January of 1942, suggested the immediate arrest of Brandsma and his incarceration in a concentration camp.[52]

Vos's suggestion that this recommendation represented a last-ditch effort on the part of Janke to maintain his position has merit.[53] Because, as the Germans consolidated their administrative hold, the divisions and suspicions that characterized Hitler's own high command filtered down as well. The resulting bureaucracy overseeing the press was a "divide and conquer" composite of personalities and jurisdictions. Political infighting, jockeying for position,

conflicting policies, and arbitrary decisions were the result, leaving the officials insecure and the Dutch press in a state of constant wariness as to what was and what was not allowed. Janke's own position had become increasingly vulnerable, as Goebbels power and influence increased and all press affairs became organized under the department of culture and information. During the early stages of the occupation, however, Janke's department held sway.[54] The two chief methods used to communicate official positions to the media were a daily press conference, directed by Janke, and notices sent over the telex. The latter were sequentially numbered and carried the heading, "Not for publication" and covered everything from stylistic items on preferred spellings to policy directives. It was Note No. 1008 that precipitated the chain of events leading to Brandsma's arrest.

Brandsma had already come to the notice of Dutch and German Nazis before the war began. Dutch Nazis had accused him and a fellow philosopher at the University of Nijmegen of being Communist sympathizers[55]. He had also been denounced by a German publication for his contribution to a volume of essays directed against the German persecution of Jews. Brandsma's essay, entitled "The Delusion of the Sickly" denounced the oppression of Jews as "an act of cowardice."[56] At the university, beginning in 1938, his lectures on the philosophy of history at the university denounced the führer-principle of the Nazis and characterized the movement as a revival of paganism.[57] Once the war started, Brandsma noticed two suspicious students in his classes, a man and a woman, who took elaborate notes. Other students warned him about them.[58] Even though several of Brandsma's colleagues had already been arrested, Brandsma's reply to those who warned or cautioned him was to say: "I will have to think about that. I can hardly believe that they would be after me. After all, I am right up front with those people...."[59]

At the organizational level Brandsma was deeply involved in the Catholic effort to continue to enrol Jewish students in their schools despite being forbidden to do so. Brandsma was also connected to the efforts on the part of Dutch press and journalist organization to create a co-operative, united front in the form of a Press Council to deal with the new situation, an effort that failed. One of the causes of its failure was the absence of prior co-operation, as Hemels has rightly suggested.[60] The primary reason Dutch press organizations failed to respond effectively is to be found in the way in which an independent organization organized by Nazi sympathizers enlisted industry and individual support, bypassing existing Dutch press organizations. Called the Directorate of Information (Raad van Voorlichting), its leaders had ready access to the German administration and enjoyed a high profile. After some quick successes in winning over some management organizations of non-daily periodicals, its seemingly semi-official status caused confusion. Rumors spread and it appeared that the daily publishers association was also considering joining the Directorate, which would abrogate efforts to establish a Press Council. The Directorate also announced the creation of a National Union of Journalists (Verbond van Nederlandsche Journalisten,(VNJ)), an announcement that was soon accompanied by rumors to the effect that only members of this new National Union of Journalists would be allowed to carry on in their profession.[61] It had 500 members by the fall of 1940. Some German authorities encouraged the Directorate, others pointed out its non-official status and urged existing press organizations to continue their own efforts at organizing a Press Council.

One of Brandsma's final activities as spiritual advisor of the NRKJV was to mediate its merger with the neutral group, the NJK, in August of 1940. This was not an easy task and it took four meetings with the archbishop before the merger was approved. The merger left the Catholic organization intact but

without much reason for existence other than specific religious matters. The new NJK and its role in the proposed Press Council would provide for the professional interests of its journalists,. But the NJK was divided by the tactics of the National Union. It was left entirely alone once the management organization abandoned the Press Council idea and decided to co-operate with the Directorate instead. The NRKJV executive, meanwhile, noting that the motive for the merger -- a joint effort toward a co-operative Press Council -- was no longer valid, decided to join the National Union as a group,[62] leaving the NJK still further isolated. It decided, after much controversy and heated debate, to disband, leaving its members to join the National Union, which would soon become the only official and compulsory organization for journalists.

On May 2, 1941, after nine months of deliberation, the authorities issued what became known as the Journalists' Decree, which made the National Union of Journalists the legal and compulsory professional organization for journalists. Journalists, under this Decree, received legal recognition from the state and were bound by the terms of the Decree. Because the Decree was a law and the National Union of Journalists a professional, rather than a party organization -- even though its leadership was strongly biased in favor of the national socialist party -- Brandsma did not see a conflict for Catholic journalists to belong to it. He advised the hierarchy accordingly, and the hierarchy stayed out of this particular development. Meanwhile, the general failure of the Dutch population to respond with much enthusiasm to German overtures to join the cause of the Third Reich, the time of gentle treatment was over; newspapers and other publications were banned or shut down in increasing numbers as the authorities pushed nazification of The Netherlands and its earlier promises were left by the wayside.

The Catholic press was an early target for this repression, a state of affairs brought about in part by the official Catholic opposition to nazification.

Church condemnation of Nazi organizations and principles was expressed in general terms as early as 1934,[63] but on January 26, 1941, a pastoral letter from the bishops was read in the churches reiterating the earlier condemnation and forbidding the sacraments to all who lent "significant support" to the national-socialists and their organizations. Membership in the party or its groups was deemed to constitute "significant support" and would lead to withdrawal of the sacraments. As a reprisal,[64] six Catholic dailies were banned, a seminary was taken over by the Wehrmacht, teaching salaries of clerics cut by 40% and they were also forbidden to hold administrative positions. As the ranking executive member of the Catholic organization for secondary education, Brandsma led the struggle to have the salary cuts and administrative decisions repealed, a major lobbying effort and one which required much travel.

Then came the pastoral letter from the bishops dated July 25 which was read from all the pulpits on August 3. It was a general catalog of injustices, prompted by a decision that effectively put the 200,000-member Catholic Labor Organization out of the business. Seys-Inquart had decided to replace the democratically-elected executive with an appointed commissioner, a member of the national-socialist party. The bishops called on the members to resign their membership and declared that continuing membership would constitute "significant support" and thus lead to the previously announced sanctions, i.e. withdrawal of the sacraments. The bishops also lamented the fact that the Catholic radio service has been suspended, and that "Our Catholic daily press has been suspended or so curtailed in its liberty that one can hardly speak of Catholic newspapers."[65] The Germans reacted angrily. The archbishop was fined 500 guilders. More newspapers were suspended. In fact, during the weeks following that August 3rd, 150 Catholic publications were put out of business, including 15 daily papers.

When the bishops asked Brandsma for advice on what to make of the National Union of Journalists and the Journalists' Decree, his reply went beyond those specific matters and constituted a defence of the remaining Catholic press. Admitting that much of what appeared in that press was offensive, and granting that it was possible that the future might condemn it for complying with the authorities, Brandsma distinguished between the practice of publishing what was ordered by the authorities, what was "strongly requested" by the national-socialists, and what was distributed via the German news services. He argued that the Catholic press could hardly refuse to print what it was ordered to print and still continue to exist, but that it could and did routinely resist Nazi efforts for publicity through the editorial and advertising columns, although the extent of this refusal varied and was left to the individual newspaper's discretion. He asked the bishops to appreciate the journalistic efforts that were being made in a time of great difficulty, pointing out that while much that was published was offensive, the readers were wise enough to discriminate between what was genuine and what was ordered.[66]

The next phase in the struggle came on Dec. 14, 1941, when Seys-Inquart declared that the national-socialist party, then 10 years old, would henceforth be the only legal political party in The Netherlands. This was followed four days later by Note 1008, a "Not for publication" piece of advice in which newspapers were told that it would no longer be permitted to refuse national socialist advertising on the grounds of principled objections because of the necessity to promote Dutch national unity. Advice was sought from the bishops: Would the publication of such advertising be considered "significant support" for the Nazis under the new circumstances and result in the threatened ecclesiastical sanctions? It was a difficult question. If the Church ruled such advertising had to be refused, two possible outcomes were likely, but neither was desirable. On the one

hand it seemed likely that there would be Catholic newspapers which would ignore the ecclesiastical order[67] thereby forcing the Church's hand to enforce the sanctions and urge the faithful to withdraw their subscriptions. The latter would likely mean the end of the Catholic press. On the other hand, a more permissive stance might be interpreted as weakness, which was also to be avoided. In addition, either voluntary suspension or forced suppression of the Catholic dailies would result in severe economic hardship for the hundreds of people it employed. The key was the interpretation of "significant support for the Nazis"? How was the placement of their advertising to be understood?

The archbishop of The Netherlands, Monseigneur De Jong sought advice from Brandsma and a Franciscan, Dr. L.J.C. Beaufort. The latter argued that the placing of Nazi advertising could hardly be considered "significant support" for the national socialists given the virtual immunity of the Dutch people to both positive and negative exhortations of the Nazis. Acceptance of such advertising, so Beaufort argued, was consistent with ordinary business principles. On moral grounds, there was no question of formal co-operation with the Nazis, but only material co-operation through providing a medium. The latter co-operation, he added, could be excused on the grounds of overriding reasons, the continued existence of a Catholic press and prevention of unemployment.[68] Beaufort offered this moral-pragmatic advice with the proviso that there could be other grounds for reaching a different conclusion, but he did not elaborate.

Brandsma, after consulting with some of his friends in the press, offered different advice, with which the archbishop concurred. At a meeting on Dec. 31, 1941, they decided on a campaign to unite the Catholic press against the intention of Notice 1008 with the hope of getting it withdrawn or, at least, not made into an official ruling. Brandsma would visit the leading publishers and present the official church position that Notice 1008 was unacceptable and discuss a strategy

for dealing with it. Brandsma drafted a letter, a position paper, which argued that Notice 1008 constituted a direct attack on the principled character of the Catholic press. By explicitly forbidding principled objections to Nazi advertising, the foundation of a Catholic press was put to the test. After pointing out that the episcopacy recognized the severe constraints under which Catholic newspapers had to be published, he added that the hierarchy also recognized how difficult it was, in practice, to draw the line between what can and cannot be done. He went on:[69]

> The episcopacy affirms that, as long as the directors and editors sincerely strive to maintain their own Catholic standing, their efforts earn them honour and recognition.
>
> How difficult it is to know how much one can submit under constraint! this, however, is cleared up now, because a few days ago the authorities of the press issued an order, obedience to which would place the editors and directors of the Catholic newspaper in conflict with their principles. In this order, which obliges the printing of advertisements of the N.S.B. [Dutch Nazi party], it is explicitly stated that one cannot resist it on fundamental principles. Through this order the principle itself is made a point of contradiction. There the Catholic newspapers cannot compromise any longer if they do not want to disregard the command of their Bishop who forbids them to give their support to those ideas and this movement. This instruction has not yet been issued as an official decree but as news through the teletype. Perhaps it will not become an official regulation. So much the better! But if the order is given or if the publication of advertisements...is insisted upon, even under the threat of grave penalties such as suspension or suppression, the directors and -- in agreement with them -- the editors must categorically refuse those articles if they appreciate the Catholic character of their newspapers. It is not possible to act otherwise. We have reached the limit. I trust that the Catholic newspapers will maintain the Catholic point of view without hesistation. The more we are united in refusing, the stronger we shall be....The directors of the newspapers are to take note of this point of view. If they do not acknowledge it, they make the Catholic paper an impossibility and it ceases to exist, if not materially, then certainly formally; with the

> consequence that if it continues materially, it can no longer rely upon the assured support of Catholic subscribers and thus will be ruined dishonorably. It will certainly be very hard for many of you who till now have had an honorable and remunerative position. Only those who, against all promise, try to force the conscience of the directors and editors will bear the consequences. I do not yet dare to think that the responsible authorities will go as far as that, but if they do, God will have the last word and will reward the faithful servant.

The Brandsma argument, in a nutshell, is this: By suspending the dictates of their own conscience (and church), publishers and editors offer the most significant support imaginable for the Nazi cause, for such a suspension of conscience amounts to a *de facto* elimination of the Catholic press itself. The strategy was to obtain a united front and lobby for the undoing of the intent of Notice 1008.

To attain that end Brandsma agreed to visit the leading newspapers to deliver his letter, with the consent of the archbishop, in person and to discuss the situation. He would then report back. In the early days of 1942, Brandsma set off and visited the publishers and editors of 14 newspapers. Most of them agreed, but some objected and demanded an official declaration from the archbishop. One of those publishers, on Jan. 5, informed the authorities of Brandsma's activities. That publisher was visited the next day by a government official who made a full report in The Hague, and also delivered a copy of Brandsma's letter to the authorities. The father of that informer was so upset when he discovered what his son had done that he immediately went to Nijmegen to warn Brandsma personally and urged him to go underground.[70] Brandsma refused to run while he was asking others to take a stand.[71] On Wednesday, Jan. 7, Janke wrote his memorandum urging the arrest of Brandsma and transfer to a concentration camp for the duration of the war. Twelve days would pass before this recommendation was carried out.

Brandsma reported back to the archbishop on Jan. 10 and they agreed that an official letter was required. Brandsma was asked to present a draft. Meanwhile, the publisher of *De Gelderlander*, G.H.J.B. Bodewes, would present the Catholic position informally to the government authorities and get their reaction. That reaction seemed favorable; the authorities claimed to have no desire to provoke a conflict with the Church, but asked that the bishops take no immediate action. When Brandsma informed the archbishop of this position, the latter agreed to hold back the letter that was ready to go out. Nazi officials were asked not to force the issue and to hold back advertising intended for Catholic newspapers. There was tentative agreement on this point, but on Jan. 15 several Catholic papers were offered large advertisements from the Nazis and ordered to publish same on Jan. 17. When the archbishop heard of this, he telephoned Brandsma and they agreed to mail the official letter immediately. That letter, which reiterated the position Brandsma had put to the publishers earlier, went out on Jan. 16 and requested that all publishers indicate their agreement in writing and return their response via Brandsma to the archbishop. When the Nazis withdrew the proffered advertising, it was already too late; the official letter had gone out.

On Jan. 19 Brandsma was arrested and his papers were seized. He was transferred to the prison in Scheveningen, near The Hague, where he was questioned. He continued to defend the Catholic position on the principle of freedom of conscience. His interrogation was civilized, there was no torture. Brandsma's response was calm and dignified, without hatred. He also had no regrets, no remorse. He said he was honored to be asked to suffer. His inner faith bloomed and his prison memoirs testify of his cheerfulness during his incarceration in the Scheveningen jail. Other witnesses have commented with a sense of astonishment how Brandsma's ever-present cheerfulness did not leave him

in the transfer camp, or even Dachau.[72] The frail, 61-year-old Titus Brandsma did not last long. A few weeks after arriving in Dachau he was sent to Dachau's infirmary, where he lapsed into a coma and was finished off with an injection on July 26. His remains were burned and his ashes rest in the "grave of unknown thousands."

With the arrest of Brandsma, Dutch Catholic resistance to the Nazis was virtually broken. As Hemels suggests, Brandsma alone had the stature and ability to effect a united front among Dutch Catholic publishers.[73] It is also possible that the more pragmatic advice won the day. At any rate, most Catholic papers published the advertising presented by the Nazis without protest, including recruiting advertisements for the Waffen-SS.[74] Threatened sanctions by the episcopacy were never carried out, although another pastoral letter from the bishops in July 1944 named the papers which the hierarchy no longer considered as Catholic. Most of those papers were soon to be closed as the Allies liberated southern provinces where those papers were published.

Today, in The Netherlands, schools and streets are named after Titus Brandsma; committees of Brandsma devotees, in various countries, work for his canonization. They are waiting for an official miracle to seal the sainthood of their hero. His canonization would establish his sainthood for all the Church. But meanwhile, journalists can pray to him, "Blessed Titus, pray for us...."

END NOTES

1. The first patron saint for journalists, Saint Franciscus de Sales (1567 - 1622), was canonized in 1665, and named patron saint of the Catholic press and writers in 1923. He is described as a man of action, an optimist, a friend to all. His most famous book is *Introduction à la view dévote* (Lyon, 1609), a work intended to teach the devout life to ordinary people. Translated into several languages, it is still in print today.

2. Redemptus Maria Valabek, O. Carm., postulator general of Titus's cause makes this claim in the volume of papers he edited, *The Beatification of Father Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1986, p. 145. He does not identify the groups.

3. There is little critical, scholarly work on Titus Brandsma in the English language, especially as it concerns his journalism. Prof. Dr. Joan Hemels, of the University of Amsterdam, is the academic authority on the journalism of Titus Brandsma, but he has not published in English. His main works on Brandsma are: "Titus Brandsma und die katholische Presse der Niederlande zwischen 1935 und 1942," *Communicatio Socialis*, Vol. 6 (1973), No. 1, pp. 1 - 20, "Titus Brandsma: Verteidiger der katholischen Presse," *Communicatio Socialis*, Vol. 18 (1985), No. 4, pp. 333 - 42; and "Perswettenschappelijke visies van Titus Brandsma," in J. H. G. I. Giesbers, et al *Titus Brandsma Herdacht: Voordrachten bij de gelegenheid van de Zaligverklaring van Prof. Dr. Titus Brandsma, O. Carm.* Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit, 1985. There is also a good discussion of Brandsma's contribution to journalism education in his *De journalistieke eierdans. Over vakopleiding en massacommunicatie*, Assen, 1972. Brandsma's activities on behalf of the Catholic press during the war years is also discussed in the authoritative history of The Netherlands during the Second World War, L. DeJong's *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Vol. 5, second half (Maart '41 - Juli '42). 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1974, pp. 747 - 759. Also relevant for Brandsma's war-time activities is the recently published doctoral dissertation by Rene Vos, *Niet voor Publicatie: De Legale Nederlandse Pers Tijdens de Duitse Bezetting*. Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1988. This is a monumental work detailing the fortunes and misfortunes of the legitimate Dutch press during the German occupation. For a convenient, more general bibliography, though now dated, see Adrianus Staring, "Bibliografia di Tito Brandsma," *Carmelus*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1984. Staring list seven works by Brandsma that are available in English, and nearly 60 secondary sources. Most of the latter, however, are brief, popular articles. The main biographical work in English is Joseph Rees. *Titus Brandsma, a Modern Martyr*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971. The Rees book, no longer in print, is an adapted translation of the standard biographical work on Brandsma, H. W. F. Aukes, *Het Leven van Titus Brandsma*, 2nd edition, Utrecht en Antwerpen: Spectrum, 1961. A third edition, published in 1985, has been translated but not yet published. I am grateful to its translator, Brother Anthony, of Sarnia, Ont. for letting me consult his work. Another important Dutch, biographical study is Brocardus Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*. Bussum: Uitgeverij Paul Brand N.V., 1951. Boniface Hanley's *No Strangers To Violence, No Strangers To Love*, Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 1983, contains a well-done, illustrated account of Brandsma's life and death, and has been widely reproduced. On Brandsma's spirituality, the following are especially relevant: R. M. Valabek, ed. *Essays on Titus Brandsma: Carmelite,*

Educator, Journalist, Martyr. Rome: Carmel in the World Paperback, 1985, which also describes his resistance to the Nazis, but from a religious perspective. It does contain useful translations of Brandsma's last letters and writings. The most useful volumes on Brandsma's spirituality in Dutch are essays in the above-mentioned *Titus Brandsma Herdacht*; Jo Tigcheler and Kees Waaijman, *Titus Brandsma en de Mystiek: Verslag Symposium 16 Maart 1985*, Nijmegen: Titus Brandsma Instituut, 1985. An anthology of Brandsma's spiritual writings, not yet available in English, is Bruno Bochert, ed., *Mystiek Leven: Een Bloemlezing/Titus Brandsma*. Nijmegen: B. Gottmer, 1985.

4. In our own pluralistic context it is often argued that the social responsibility of press requires that fair access be given to the various groups making up the mosaic of that society, both through the editorial and advertising columns of the press. In case of conflict between this principle of access, justified by a social responsibility view of the press, and a moral-religious or even political principle held by a publisher, which principle should prevail? A discussion of a recent Canadian court case illustrates the point. The case is *Gay Alliance Towards Equality* v. *Vancouver Sun* (1979). The *Vancouver Sun* had refused to place a classified advertisement for a gay newspaper and the Alliance argued that this refusal was a denial of their rights under the British Columbia Human Rights Commission Rights Code. The case eventually ended up in the Supreme Court of Canada, where a majority ruled in favour of the *Vancouver Sun* on the grounds that this refusal was based on a "corollary" of the general principle of freedom of the press. For an interesting discussion of this case see Walter S. Tarnopolsky, "Freedom of the Press," pp. 3 - 48, in Walter Tarnopolsky et al, *Newspapers and the Law*, Research studies on the Newspaper industry, Royal Commission on Newspapers, Vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981, especially pp. 29 - 31.

5. Boniface Hanley, "Through a Dark Tunnel," *The Anthonian*, Vol. 56 (1982), suggests that the petition came at the wrong time -- Heydrich's assassination had just taken place.

6. One sister married and she and her husband took over the family farm when the parents retired in 1901. His father died in 1920 and his mother in 1933.

7. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this Order, and Titus's reasons for joining the same in detail. The Order, whose Rule dates back to 1226, traces its origins to Christian hermits living on Mount Carmel, near Haifa in present-day Israel. The order flourished in medieval Europe, but then declined and by 1830 there were only two active monasteries left, one in Austria and one in Boxmeer, the Netherlands, each with three members. At the time Titus Brandsma went to Boxmeer, in 1898, the Carmelites there were in the midst of a revival. Carmelites are dedicated to a life of contemplation and service, such as teaching and missionary work. For more on Titus Brandsma's religiosity and Carmelite spirituality see his *Carmelite Mysticism: Historical Sketches*, Chicago: Carmelite Press, 1936. That book contains his lectures given while on a North American tour in 1935. It was republished in 1986. Another helpful volume on this topic is R. M. Valabek, ed., *Essays on Titus Brandsma*, especially pp. 225 - 246, which contains the English translation of Titus Brandsma's article "Carmes" from the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Vol. II.

8. The biographies do not make clear just what the underlying problem was. The specific incident, Titus's request to rephrase an examination question concerning the individuation of angels, seems hardly a sufficient explanation for the resulting "punishment". Not only was permission for doctoral studies refused, Titus was assigned relatively minor duties. It seems more likely that there was a personality clash of a deeper sort between the reform-minded Titus and the conservative philosophy professor. It is clear that the incident left no permanent scars or resentments. Titus himself acknowledges that he learned much from the whole affair and blamed his youthful overzealousness for the incident.

9. R. M. Valabek, Homily, Washington, D.C., Cathedral of St. Matthew the Apostle, reproduced in *The Beatification of Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, pp. 138 - 146.

10. I cannot begin to enumerate his wide range of activities, let alone do justice to them here. One partial explanation of why this professor was able to engage in so many other activities is due to the fact that he had few students; philosophy then, as now, not being a subject that enables one to earn a living. While in Oss, there were years in which there were no philosophy students at all.

11. In addition to his often-cited inaugural lecture as rector of the Catholic University on Oct. 17, 1932, on the concept of God, his published philosophical works consist of one short article on aesthetic theory [It defends the view that beauty is an objective feature of reality which can be discerned through feeling guided by reason.] and a paper on St. Augustine, which declares that the unifying idea of Augustine's thought was the mystical union of the soul with God. C.E.M. Struyker Boudier, in his comprehensive study of philosophy in The Netherlands explains Brandsma's meagre philosophical productivity on the grounds that he preferred theodicy and mysticism. For Brandsma, he notes, "metaphysics and mysticism flow together and blend into one." (*Wijsgerig Leven in Nederland en Belgie 1880 - 1980*, Vol. III. Nijmegen: Ambo, 1981, p. 50.)

12. C.E.M. Struyker Boudier, "Getuige God(s): Titus Brandsma, de wijsbegeerte in De Nederlanden en de actuele betekenis van zijn Godsbegrip," in *Titus Brandsma Herdacht*, notes on p. 47 that Brandsma is not even mentioned in one standard work on Dutch philosophy, one written by a colleague, Ferd. Sassen, *Wijsgerig leven in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw*, third edition, Amsterdam, 1960.

13. Brocardus Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 79.

14. Brocardus Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, pp. 104 - 116, acknowledges this aspect of Titus Brandsma's teaching. Brandsma's lectures, he said, emphasized the problems, sketched approaches and summarized positions. This method of teaching, Meijer noted, "presupposes much and sometimes may have left the impression that the professor made it easy for himself," something which was not the case. For more on Titus's contribution to the university as administrator, conciliator and professor, see J.H.G.I. Giesbers, "Titus Brandsma en de Katholieke Universiteit," pp. 6 - 10 in *Titus Brandsma Herdacht*.

15. Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 115 - 116, cites the following tribute from the students: "We appreciate you as monk, as priest, as professor, especially as professor in the history of mysticism. We are especially grateful, furthermore, for your thoroughly priestly personality, ever ready and available to each of your

students. Through your cheerful and indestructible optimism you encouraged many a student. You comforted those who sought or asked you for comfort or assisted through word and deed when your advice or support was sought. Your exceptional and unassuming openness was our greatest treasure."

16. For an excellent overview of this movement see Wallace K. Ferguson, *Europe in Transition 1300 - 1520*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962, pp. 343 - 353. The movement emphasized the inner spiritual life, morality, Scriptures, education and rejected scholastic philosophy and theology.

17. Titus Brandsma, "Geert Groote: Zijn Keer Naar Den Heer," in *Geert Groote's Geboortedag te Deventer Herdacht, 16 October 1940*, Deventer: N.V. Uitgevers-Mij A. E. Kluwer, 1940, p. 13.

18. Numbered in the hundreds, these articles occupy many volumes in the archives.

19. The news value he saw in these items related to self-knowledge. Given his special audience, this interest would include religious self-knowledge. Self-knowledge is not often given as one of the "needs" people seek to gratify in using media, but at least one poll indicated that self-knowledge was the main reason people read newspapers. (Reference to come to Australian media poll.)

20. Adrianus Staring, "The Mysticism of the Passion," in R.M. Valabek, *Essays on Titus Brandsma*, pp. 118 - 119. The quotations are from Brandsma's inaugural lecture as rector of the Nijmegen University, "Godsbegrip" ("The Concept of God").

21. Among the scholarly works which Brandsma had initiated, but which did not succeed for reasons too complex to enter into here, are a major philosophical study on aesthetics, a critical history of medieval Dutch philosophy, a general metaphysics, a critical Dutch edition of the works of St. Teresa of Avila, a critical edition of pre-Reformation Dutch and Flemish Catholic thinkers, and a compendium of the Church's role in theology, science and art in three volumes. Titus Brandsma did oversee the successful completion of the first edition of the *Katholieke Encyclopaedie*, which was completed in 1939. He had served as censor and was a major contributor.

22. Aukes, *Titus Brandsma*, pp. 29 - 31.

23. The national daily was called *De Voorhoede*. (The Bastion) His articles dealt with social questions and problems of the time, topics such as socialism, the class struggle, and co-operative movements. Brandsma did not write them "off the top of his head" but did independent reporting, such as interviewing leading Catholic thinkers working in Rome.

24. Aukes, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 42.

25. John Van Zuijlen, "Honderd jaar dagbladpers in Oss," *City: Oss en Omgeving*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan. 28, 1984. This article commemorates the 100th anniversary of *De Stad Oss* (erroneously referring to it as a daily in the headline) and notes that the paper, started in 1884 had about 150 subscribers until the start of the First World War. During that war circulation grew by several hundred subscribers who bought the paper to keep track of food stamps issued to regulate

rationing. Van Zuiilen credits Brandsma with preventing the arrival of another paper.

26. Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 354. Hemels points out that it was not unusual for a priest to be charged with editing responsibilities. He considers it more usual that Brandsma continued his journalistic activities after he became a university professor, noting that in those days, even more than today, there was little love lost between journalism and the academy. ("Perswettenschappelijke visies van Titus Brandsma," *ap.cit.*, p. 133.)

27. Meijer reports that Brandsma wrote 104 of them per year. The articles covered local, regional, social and political topics, from the necessity for the women of Oss to exercise their newly-won franchise to a campaign for a local public library. (Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 354)

28. John Van Zuiijlen, "Honderd jaar dagbladpers in Oss," *City: Oss en Omgeving*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan. 28, 1984, p. 48. After the war the paper reappeared under another name and was eventually absorbed into a regional daily.

29. Hemels, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

30. René Vos, *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 29.

31. René Vos, *Niet voor publikatie*, pp. 324 - 327, which outlines in tabular form the changes in Dutch newspaper publication and circulation during the war years. Total circulation for those 120 newspaper just before the war is given as 2,021,356. In addition to the daily newspapers, there were some 600 weeklies, and 10,000 other, regularly-appearing publications, including monthly general interest magazines, professional and trade publications, organizational newsletters, learned journals, political periodicals and cultural reviews.

32. The NJK was founded in 1883, the NJKRV in 1902. Typographers were organized as early as 1869 as a labor union. There was also a socialist-democratic organization for journalists working for newspapers advocating that ideology, but it was a labor union. Attempts to organize Prostant-Christian journalists were made, but were unsuccessful. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

33. Since not all those who belong to these associations could be considered full-time employees, it would appear that probably only about half of the Dutch journalists belonged to a professional organization. Cf. Weaver and Wilhoit's report in *The American Journalist*, p. 106, that 40 per cent of American journalists in 1982 claimed membership in national or local journalistic organizations.

34. Initially, members of the Catholic group were members of the religiously-neutral group as well, but by the time Brandsma became spiritual advisor, such joint memberships had virtually disappeared. This separation from the NJK was apparently officially encouraged by Kruitwagen and the archbishop, according to René Vos, *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 31. There were, accordingly, also no formal ties between the two groups and co-operation was rare. The situation was different at the management-ownership level whose organizations, though separated along religious lines, co-operated and shared directors.

35. See, in addition to the articles in *Communicatio Socialis*, his "Titus Brandsma en de pers," in *Nationale Herdenking Zaligverklaring Titus Brandsma*, Sint Janskathedraal Den Bosch, 10 November 1985, pp. 16 - 21.

36. Four times he tried to organize weekend spiritual retreats for journalists, and three times drop-outs caused cancellations. The one time that the minimum number of participants, eight, was reached was in 1937. The retreats of 1936, 1938 and 1939 did not go through. One of the participants in the 1937 retreat commended Brandsma's work in organizing and directing the weekend, especially noting its practical relevance to journalism. Discussions focussed on such topics as the tone in a Catholic newspaper, what is the task of a Catholic newspaper, what is the place of God in the newspaper, and how is the journalist to relate to his family? On the latter: "The journalist should not try to make his newspaper work an excuse to neglect his family and parental responsibilities," the anonymous reporter wrote, adding the comment: "The reader will notice: Father Brandsma knows his journalists!" (Cited in Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 361.) In addition, as the archives make abundantly clear, there was the individual counselling. Letter after letter (and who knows how many phone calls and personal contacts) from journalists seeking his advice and intervention tell the story of his readiness to help. Brandsma became the mediator in many a newsroom, helping individual journalists in all manner of professional and personal problems.

37. René Vos reports, in *Niet voor publikatie*, pp. 26 - 28, that there were no major newspaper closures or mergers during those years, and that umemployment among journalists did not seem to have been a major concern. But one of the ways in which the industry tried to survive was by reducing journalists' salaries.

38. Most major cities had three or more competing daily newspapers. Even though those newspapers may have been organized along confessional or ideological lines, they were not above soliciting for subscribers wherever they could get them. René Vos, *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 26. Papers based on the same principles also competed with each other. Utrecht, for example, was served by three different Catholic newspapers, in addition to Protestant, neutral and socialist-oriented papers.

39. Hemels, "Perswettenschappelijke visies van Titus Brandsma," p. 139.

40. Titus Brandsma, "Plaats en Taak van een eigen Katholieke Pers," ("Place and Task of a Catholic Press"), corrected manuscript, TBA, dated Jan. 29, 1939, but broadcast on Feb. 5, 1939, as indicated on title page.

41. Titus Brandsma, "Plaats en Taak van een eigen Katholieke Pers," ("Place and Task of our own Catholic Press"), radio lecture, Feb. 5, 1939. Prof. Hemels has identified the third paragraph in this above quotation as the key to Brandsma's thought about the press. "Perswettenschappelijke visies van Titus Brandsma," p. 141. I agree and would add that the first paragraph is the key to his thought about journalism, as it is the key to his philosophy and mysticism. But this paper is not the place to develop that argument. In general, Brandsma was a practical thinker, and we have very little by way of personal self-reflection or meta-philosophical explorations.

42. Hemels, "Perswettenschappelijke visies van Titus Brandsma," pp. 145 - 146 in *Titus Brandsma Herdacht*, and "Titus Brandsma und die katholische Presse der Niederlande zwischen 1935 und 1942," *Communicatio Socialis* (1973), pp. 3 - 5.

43. The proposal was not accepted by the membership, and a new committee set up, with the specific mandate to come up with a proposal for urgent changes to correct certain injustices as they were found in Catholic newspapers, especially with regard to pay and social assistance. Brandsma did not head up the new committee, but did provide one of the two position papers prepared for it. He again proposes collective agreements, and suggests that the salaries paid journalists, and their fringe benefits, should be similar to those enjoyed by teachers in the elementary and secondary school system. The discussions ended in the spring of 1940, when the Germans invaded. Hemels notes that the German authorities were undoubtedly aided by the fact that these deliberations about their legal standing of journalists were still in their preliminary stages. Occupation forces imposed an umbrella organization for all journalists, with compulsory membership. See below, p. 15. (See Hemels, *op.cit.* and René Vos, *Niet voor publikatie*, pp. 92 - 111.)

44. Titus Brandsma, "Leidende Gedachten bij de bevordering van een goede Rechtspositie," TBA. ("Main Ideas in the advancement of a just Legality.")

45. Titus Brandsma, "Een Opleiding voor Journalisten," ("Education for Journalists"), a paper given at a special, general meeting of the NRKJV on Feb. 20, 1938 in Utrecht. TBA. Hemels also discusses this paper in his *De journalistieke eierdans*, pp. 77 - 81. The issue of education for journalists had been an ongoing topic of discussion and debate among Dutch journalists since the 1920s, but little was accomplished until after the Second World War. For details, see Hemels, *De journalistieke eierdans*, pp. 9-81. Chapter III, pp. 38 - 52 covers the pre-Brandsma period, and reports on a major study of other European and U.S. inititiatives in journalism education. It is likely that Brandsma was familiar with this work since it involved other Nijmegen faculty, Prof. Schrijnen in particular, who was a good friend of Brandsma. (Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 76.)

46. Titus Brandsma, "Een Opleiding voor Journalisten," ("Education for Journalists"), TBA, p. 3.

47. In spirit, Brandsma's program probably most closely resembles a one-year graduate level program in the North American system. It should not be compared to the community college approach. While formally closer related to the latter, Brandsma's insistence on receiving only students with university entrance qualifications, plus his insistence on the heavy course load in theoretical subjects make the comparison to the more vocational, community college programs inappropriate.

48. Brandsma estimated the annual cost of his program at 7,000 guilders. With an enrolment estimated at 20 students annually, this program would have paid its way with tuition set at 350 guilders, a not unreasonable amount for post-secondary studies at the time. If subsidized by the industry, as was expected, this would have reduced tuition costs further. By comparison, an earlier, more vocationally-oriented program looked for the bulk of its financing to a subscriber surcharge of 10 cents per year, which, with circulation of Catholic newspapers estimated between 200,000 and 300,000 would have produced an annual income of between

20,000 and 30,000 guilders, in addition to tuition fees.

49. Those who worked with him in the NRKJV were unanimous in their praise for Brandsma's activities.

50. The German military commmand permitted the Dutch press to publish without prior censorship the day following capitulation, something which was announced on the front page in all the papers. Not published were the stipulations to the effect that the papers would not publish negative news about Germany, German politics or the German armed forces; there was to be no news of Dutch battles, or articles based on Belgian, French or English sources. The papers were also required to publish all official German notices; anonymous advertisements were forbidden, as were weather forecasts, and each paper had to submit copies to the local army commander. A German cultural attaché at the German embassy, Andreas Konrad Heinrich Hushahn, meanwhile, took it upon himself to take over the Dutch national news service, ordering its director to fire all Jewish employees and to sever connections with all news services other than German-approved agencies. (*Niet voor publikatie*, pp. 56 - 59.)

51. *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 66.

52. This information, along with most subsequent references to the German administration and the activities of its collaborators is based on the already-mentioned doctoral dissertation of René Vos, published as *Niet voor publikatie*. It would become cumbersome if not tedious to reference each item of information I used from this book. I hope this blanket acknowledgement will be sufficient to substantiate the factual assertions. I will continue to reference Vos's opinions.

53. *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 254. Vos remarks on the uncharacteristic nature of the harshness of this recommendation, and suggests that it might have been an attempt to save his own job to appear tough, or, to play some political games based on his view that the Military Governor would not allow this attack on the Church.

54. It is one of the chief merits of Vos's book, *Niet voor publikatie*, that it tries to sort out these departmental conflicts and show how the different personalities at the executive levels tried to make and enforce policies. Mention should also be made of the activities of Dutch Nazis who, individually, could cause problems for the media through complaints to the authorities, threats and other means of intimidation.

55. The Catholic daily, *Ons Noorden*, Oct. 27, 1936, quotes a Dutch national-socialist publication, *De Knuppel* (The Nightstick) of Oct. 16, 1936, which called Brandsma a Communist sympathizer.

56. *Stemmen van Nederlanders over de behandeling der Joden in Duitsland*, (Voices From Dutchmen against the Treatment of Jews in Germany). The Dutch title of Brandsma's essay was "De Waan der Zwakheid."

57. Lecture notes for philosophy of history, TBA. Meijer dates them to 1938, based on Titus Brandsma's letter to the rector of the university in 1939 in which he refers to this course. In that letter, dated Dec. 2, 1939, Brandsma states his opinion that German national socialism constitutes the single greatest danger to

Catholic faith. He recommends a philosophical counter-attack based on refutation of the philosophy on which it is based and a positive development of a philosophy of human dignity. Like many other philosophers at the time, Brandsma saw Nietzsche thought as the philosophical origin of national socialism. The error of that position has been well argued and documented by Walter Kaufmann in his *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1950.

58. Meijer, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 379.

59. Meijer, *Ibid*.

60. "Titus Brandsma und die katholische Presse der Niederlande...", p. 7.

61. An open letter to Dutch journalists from the Directorate in August, 1940, announcing the formation of the National Union of Journalists did little to discourage those rumors; in fact, it sounded like an official proclamation, linking the union to government plans for a Dutch Press Chamber of which it would become a part. Among its functions, the National Union aims included legal protection of the title 'journalist', creation of a university chair in press studies, formation of an honor and discipline committee, enforcement of minimum wage provisions, enforcement and extemsion of fringe benefits for journalists, and mediation of disputes. "For many years," the letter adds, "these provisions were limited to pious wishes. In the new organization they will become part of an abundant reality." (Letter reproduced in *Niet voor publicatie*, p. 95.)

62. The NRKJV decision of Nov. 11, 1940, was followed by the decision of the NJK to dissolve itself on Nov. 23.

63. And again in 1936, when bishops declared the national-socialist movement to be anti-Catholic and believers were strongly urged not to support that party or its umbrella organizations. But no specific penalties prescribed at that time. *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 125.

64. Officially, of course, other reasons were given. The salary cuts, for example, were said to be intended to insure that state funds would not be used to subsidize religious institutions. One of the papers which was closed, *Ons Noorden*, the only Catholic daily in the north-east, was justified on the grounds of its editorial tendency to go against the wishes of the authorities. But there seemed to be no such reason for the closure of the *Maasbode* and its four regional editions.

65. Letter from the bishops, dated July 25, 1945, and reproduced in H.P.M. Heruer and G. Prinsen, eds., *Titus Brandsma: Zaligverklaring Rome 1985*. Oestgeest: Stichting R.K. Voorlichting, 1985.

66. Titus Brandsma, Letter to the Bishops, Sept. 23, 1941. TBA.

67. The Catholic press had, on the whole, accepted most advertising offered by the Nazis, and some publishers were pro-German. DeJong, *Het Koningkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Vol. 5, Second Part, p. 748. DeJong

mentions only two Catholic dailies which consistently refused such advertising, *De Gelderlander* and *De Tijd*.

68. Beaufort's letter is quoted in Hemels, "Titus Brandsma und die katholische Presse der Niederlande zwischen 1935 und 1942," pp. 13 - 14.

69. Translation by Thomas Winship and Titus Hoekstra in Valabek, ed. *Essays on Titus Brandsma*, pp. 53 - 54.

70. The informer was the publisher of *Het Dagblad van het Zuiden*, H.A.A.M. Vervoort Jr. in the city of Eindhoven. *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 254. See also S.H.A.M. Zoetmulder, "Dagbladconcentratiekamp anno 1941 in Eindhoven," *Brabanita*, 1981, No. 6, pp. 213 - 221.

71. Aukes, *Titus Brandsma*, p. 213 quotes a discussion between Brandsma and the president of the NRKJV, H.F.A. Geise, on Jan. 11, from which it appears that Brandsma was fully aware of the danger he was in. "The Germans are after me. They say I am committing sabotage. They understand nothing. But I will go on. Let them arrest me." Geise reported to Aukes that this was said in dead earnestness, not flippantly.

72. The last months of Brandsma's life have been well-documented and described in the previously-listed English sources. See Note 3.

73. "Titus Brandsma und die katholische Presse der Niederlande zwischen 1935 und 1942," p. 15 - 16.

74. *Niet voor publikatie*, p. 256.